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among the "Uncanonical Parallels" in my *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*. I lately learned that Sabine Baring-Gould in 1866 pointed out that the germ of the legend is actually found in the canonical Gospels:

Mark ix. 1: "Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, who shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Kingdom of God come with power."

Let me repeat what I said last May in *The Open Court*, and which Professor Garbe does me the honor to quote: *Each religion is independent in the main, but the younger one arose in such a hotbed of eclecticism that it probably borrowed a few legends and ideas from the older, which was quite accessible to it.* The loans are not an integral part of primitive Christian doctrine, as I said in my Tokyo preface (1905), but lie outside of the Synoptical narrative, and occur in the two later Gospels of Luke and John, both open to Gentile influences.

Even now I only put forth these parallels upon the same footing as Gaster, Speyer and Garbe's Christopher and Eustace; and if the scholars of Europe and Asia finally decide that they are wrong, I shall withdraw my venture with a good grace. But if this great admission of Buddhist influence upon the Christian Apocryphal Gospels and the Eustace and Christopher legends receives its "brevet of orthodoxy," the next step will lead a new generation of scholars back to the canonical Gospels and the canonical Nikāyas.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

FIRST CENTURY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND ROME.

EDMUNDS VS. GARBE.

In *The Monist* for October, 1911, appears a paper by Prof. Richard Garbe of Tübingen entitled "Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity," the essence of which is that common material is found in the Apocryphal writings of both religions, but that no connection can be proved between the Canonical texts, and that this is due to the fact that active intercommunication between India and the Mediterranean did not exist until the second century, or, as Professor Garbe puts it, "Buddhist influence might have penetrated to Palestine by way of Alexandria, but still more probably by way of Antioch in Syria, but they" (that is, writers pointing out similari-

ties) "are not apt to raise this possibility to a serviceable degree of probability for as early a period as the first post-Christian century."

In thus denying the existence of a rapidly growing and very important stream of commerce between India and Rome, it seems evident that Professor Garbe has overlooked historical facts which, if duly recognized, may compel him to revise his opinion in this matter as he changed his mind in regard to the migration of the fish-symbol from India to Rome.

The incontestable facts of history are that a large Indian influence and an active commerce existed as far as the Mediterranean coast of Syria soon after the conquests of Alexander, and that the conquest of these territories by Roman armies ending in the public triumphs of Pompey the Great, created in the Roman capital a craze for Indian products and luxuries of all kinds which during the actual lifetime of Christ had become a serious problem to the Roman government, leading to numerous efforts at discouragement of the taste for Eastern luxuries which was draining the Empire of its resources. This craze met with a temporary check at the death of Nero. It regained full intensity under Trajan and Hadrian, and was again in a decline during a considerable part of the second Christian century, reviving during the reign of Commodus, and again more seriously declining with the failing powers of the Empire. The existence of this craze for Indian imports and of the substantial remittances of gold coin required to balance the trade, may be surely proved by the hoards of Roman coin unearthed in Southern India and catalogued by the Government Museum at Madras; in which these fluctuating eras of trade prosperity and depression clearly appear. Instead, therefore, of the creation of a new import trade from India in the second century, as Professor Garbe asserts, the most active trade was in the first half of the first century, with two revivals at the beginning and the end respectively of the second; and the drain of specie from Rome to the East had set in even before the birth of Christ.

Space forbids a statement in detail of the almost innumerable facts existing to support the foregoing statement. The following may at least serve as suggestions.

Alexander married a Persian princess, but numbers of his officers took Bactrian and Indian wives.

Greek colonies were established by him along the entire Indian frontier, and colonies of his newly established Indian subjects were

similarly established nearer Greece. A Greek dynasty ruled in Bactria after the Parthian revolt disrupted the Seleucid empire, and one of its rulers, Menander, powerfully influenced the spread of Buddhist thought through the Greek-speaking world.

A Greek ambassador at the Maurya court, Megasthenes, wrote a detailed account of its customs, its Brahmin religion, and its capital Pataliputra; which was widely read and commented upon for centuries.

The conquest of Judea by the Persians and the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander, reduced the force of Judaism and Mazdaism as world-religions, while the exodus of the Greeks into the East broke down what was left of the distinctive Greek religion. There existed then no faith strongly upheld in the Eastern Mediterranean basin from the third to the first centuries B. C.

Two generations after Alexander's conquests, the Emperor Asoka established Buddhism as the state religion of India, and in his second edict, preserved to us in a rock inscription, he mentions the sending of envoys to all countries with which he entertained relations; particularly mentioning "the dominions of the Greek king Antiochus, and those of the other kings subordinate to that Antiochus." This ruler is identified with Antiochus Theos (B. C. 261-246) in whose capital of Antioch these Indian envoys, physicians and missionaries, for they seem to have held that triple character, were received. In the capital of that ruler who profaned the Jewish Holy of Holies in order to set up the worship of himself, the Buddhist faith was preached by men sent from the head of the Buddhist organization, the ruler of the richest, most powerful and most populous empire in the world at that time.

During the better days of the Seleucidæ, overland communication between India and Syria was unhampered, and there is every indication that it carried an active commerce. The fall of the Seleucid power and the rise of the Parthian monarchy interposed a fiscal obstruction which the Greek rulers in Egypt, the Ptolemies, quickly turned to their advantage. By the establishment of ports on the Red Sea, Egyptian shipping was enabled to trade in the Gulf of Aden and obtain Indian merchandise with less transshipment than had formerly been made, and the opulence of this trade is vividly described by Agatharchides, writing in the closing years of the second century B. C.

For two centuries following Alexander's death we may assume that the Indian trade went no further than the Eastern Mediter-

anean; but the rise of Rome as a world-power, dating finally from the sack of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B. C., brought the Romans into active trade with the Levantine ports, as evidenced by the growth of piracy in that region, preying on the Roman ships. Pompey's contributions to the Roman state were the suppression of the pirates and the conquest of the Levant; and in his triumphal processions, which are repeatedly mentioned by Pliny in his "Natural History," all the more precious varieties of Indian merchandise were exhibited and brought into popular demand. This point is of importance. Two generations before the birth of Christ the spoils of a conquered land resulted in a fashion for the imports of that land rather than for its own products: for the Indian goods transshipped at the Syrian ports, rather than for the products of Syria itself. The Indian trade had become Syria's richest asset.

The same facts are in evidence upon the conquest of Egypt and the incorporation of the Alexandrian trade into the Roman fiscal system. Primarily grain was the staple export from Egypt to Rome, but the more profitable trade consisted in the incense of Arabia and the gems and spices and textiles of India.

In 22 A. D., in a letter from the Emperor Tiberius to the Roman Senate set forth by Tacitus in his "Annals," the growing drain of specie is pointed out and a remedy demanded. "How," said the Emperor, "are we to deal with the peculiar articles of feminine vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the Empire of its wealth and sends, in exchange for baubles, the money of the Commonwealth to foreign nations; even the enemies of Rome?"

The geographer Strabo, writing in almost the same year, records having seen a single fleet of 120 ships about to start by the favorable monsoon from an Egyptian Red Sea port to India. Two generations later, according to Pliny, the unfavorable trade-balance had grown more serious still; as he says "in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces, giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully 100 times their first cost."

550,000,000 sesterces in those days was a very considerable sum. In modern valuation it would approach \$25,000,000, and this was the state of affairs existing at the end of the reign of Nero. Can one imagine a modern trade requiring so enormous an export of specie without a corresponding influx of merchants, bearing ideas no less than goods, from the producing to the purchasing market? This condition is indeed set forth with sufficient exactness

by the writer of the Apocalypse, where he describes, under a veil of fiction, the burning of Rome and the ruin that thereby came upon "every ship-master and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea," while of the merchandise they handled are specified numerous Indian products, precious stones, pearls, silk, ivory, fragrant wood, iron (Indian steel was known even to the Greeks), cinnamon, odors, ointments. This was in 64 A. D. A year or two before, according to Pliny, at the funeral of Nero's consort Poppæa, there was burned a store of Eastern spices representing a year's imports and valued at millions.

The unknown merchant of this same period who has left us that interesting log of his trading voyages from Roman Egypt to India which we know as the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,"¹ enters more specifically into the various articles dealt in and the marked growth in the trade. Briefly following him along his voyage, at the lower western shore of the Red Sea were imported Indian iron and steel, Indian cloth, muslin and lac. On the opposite shore, at the Arabian side of the straits, was a special port established for incoming Indian ships, which were apparently forbidden to trade by the Arabs' port of Muza. On the outer coast, which we know as Somaliland, Indian cinnamon was found and ships of larger size were now required to handle it. Other Indian gums are specified, among them gum *dammar*, and an Indian remedy for tropical disorders, *macir*, which does not again appear in western commercial annals until the days of the Portuguese. At Cape Guardafui was a regular trading rendezvous to which came numerous ships from the Gulf of Cambay bringing cereals, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton goods, and honey from the reed called "sacchari"; the first known record of sugar as an article of commerce.

On the southern coast of Arabia were two ports at which Indian shipping regularly called. At the one Roman coral, tin, copper and storax were transshipped for the Indian trade, and at the other, more to the east, Indian shipping often wintered. Proceeding with our merchant to the mouth of the Indus, we find these same Roman products recorded among the imports of Northwestern India including, strange to say, Italian wines, preferred to the Syrian, or Arabian; all of which were imported. At the port of Barygaza in the Gulf of Cambay, the newly established Saka government

¹ A new translation, with learned notes, of this document is listed by Longmans for 1912. The translator is the writer of this article.—Ed.

maintained a regular system of pilotage which was necessary to avoid destruction of foreign vessels by the tremendous tides of that estuary. These pilot-boats coasted the shores of the Gulf for 100 miles outside the port, and our merchant records that both Greek and Arabian shipping was guided by them. Here he found among other things, spikenard, highly treasured in the ointments of the time as appears in the Gospel of Mark, chap. xiv. 3-5; and more important still, murrhine, that Indian carnelian, its colors heightened by slow heat and shaped into drinking vessels for which, according to Pliny, fabulous sums were paid in Rome. Petronius broke one of Nero's basins valued at 300,000 sesterces, while Nero himself paid one million sesterces for a single cup. Here at Barygaza were also imported for the Indian markets Italian wine, copper, tin and lead for the coinage of the country, coral and topaz, storax for the Chinese trade, glass, gold and silver coin on which there was a profit when exchanged for the money of the kingdom,—the Roman coinage being superior to the Hindu, which was of base metals only, while the Roman gold coin formed the standard of exchange for all the nations of India. Further down the coast in the back waters of Cochin and Travancore he found especially pepper and malabathrum (cinnamon leaves), on account of the great quantity and bulk of which our merchant tells us, large ships were sent to those ports, Greek and Arabian as well as Hindu. Here were found also great quantities of fine pearls, ivory and precious stones, beryls, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell, coming from as far distant as the Straits of Malacca in ships specially recorded as "of great size" in comparison with those Roman ships with which our author was familiar. In the adjoining nation, easily recognizable as the Chola Kingdom, whose capital Uraiyūr (Trichinopoly) is recognizable under the author's corruption of Argaru, were found in profusion all the merchandise sent from Egypt; while its ports were a center of shipping not only from Egypt but from the Ganges and Malacca. Here our author digresses to mention Chinese silk brought overland through Bactria to Western India for reshipment to the Roman empire, and among the exports from Rome to balance this trade is again mentioned "a great quantity of coin," fully supporting the testimony of the hoards unearthed in Southern India and recorded at Madras. The coins of Claudius and Nero are among the most numerous of all discovered.

The word which the author of the *Periplus* uses for the palm oil found by him at Zanzibar, was a word brought from India, the

Prākṛit *nargil*, coconut. The most authentic information at the disposal of Lieutenant Speke in preparing for his expedition for the discovery of the sources of the Nile, was a map based on the Hindu Purāṇas, and setting forth information brought by these same Indian vessels found by the merchant of the Periplus on the African coast. These traders had penetrated the interior and knew of the Nyanza lakes, as the Egyptians did not. The facts already cited are surely sufficient to show a volume of trade not only internationally important, but so great and so one-sided as to be recognized as a serious menace to the prosperity of the newer, poorer, and less populous empire of the West.

Petronius, Nero's crony whom Pliny connects with the mad auction of murrhine cups, has left us *Trimalchio's Dinner*, that inimitable sketch of parvenu society in Rome at the middle of the first Christian century, in which it is mentioned as a matter of course that a rich man sent to India for so slight a thing as mushroom spawn. Pliny tells how Lollia Paulina, wife of the Emperor Caligula, wore at an ordinary betrothal entertainment emeralds and pearls to the value of 40,000,000 sesterces; "indeed, she was prepared to prove the fact by showing the receipts and acquittances." And he goes on to bemoan the prodigality in the use of Indian pearls by Roman women; "now, at the present day" (about 70 A. D.) "the poorer classes are even affecting them.... they put them on their feet, not only on the laces but all over the shoes; it is not enough to wear pearls but they must tread upon them."

The author of the Periplus tells how the Indian trade, as far as western shipping at least was concerned, used to be done in small vessels close to shore; and how Hippalus "by observing the location of the ports and the conditions of the sea, discovered how to lay his course straight across the ocean"—the monsoon being called the "wind of Hippalus"—so that from that time ships steered direct from the Gulf of Aden and Cape Guardafui to the ports of India, "holding their course straight out to sea with a favorable wind, quite away from the land." This discovery of Hippalus occurred in the time of Claudius, and the resulting increase of trade culminated under Nero. Pliny recounts the same story.

The distinction made by Professor Garbe between the parallelisms in the Canonical texts and those in the Apocrypha points to a period of change in the national and religious politics of India which is apparently not realized, and is yet of importance in the study of the interrelations between East and West. At the be-

ginning of the second century came the Council of Kanishka, the Scythian conqueror of the northwest, the second great Buddhist Council. The Scythians were looked upon askance by the native Hindus. It is recorded in the annals of the Andhra dynasty that after a victory over the Scythian or Kushan dominion, a memorial was set up at Kārli telling how the orthodox Andhra king had "destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, properly expended the taxes levied in accordance with the sacred law, and prevented the mixing of the four castes." A schism was thus set up in India, racial rather than religious at its root, which later expanded into the great division between the early Buddhist canon and its Mahāyāna corruptions. It was the earlier Buddhism which was carried to the Syrian coast by the messengers of Asoka. It was still a conservative Buddhism, but mingled with various central Asian religions, which was carried to the same region by the subjects of Kanishka; while the great changes of the succeeding centuries brought into Buddhism, no less than into Christianity, a mass of childish apocryphal legends which passed from one faith to the other in much the same way as the earlier ideas, which to some extent at least are found paralleled in the Canonical texts. The distinction is important; but it is a distinction based on changed national politics, rather than newly created trade, as Professor Garbe would infer. This change at the coming of the Scythian shipping into the Indian Ocean is vaguely indicated by Pausanias in a passage not usually understood, where he speaks of the Island of Seria (which was really Masira off the Southern coast of Oman) but which he confuses with the Seres of China. He tells us that "both the Seres and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Abasa and Sacæa [the modern Kuria Muria] are of the Ethiopian race. Some say, however, that they are not Ethiopians but a mixture of Scythians and Indians."

At that ancient meeting-point between the Nile trade and that of the Indian Ocean, the Abyssinian highlands, the author of the *Periplus* gives us the first mention of the Kingdom of Abyssinia, then newly established, and of its capital, "the city of the people called Axumites." The great series of monoliths at Axum dates probably from the first century rather than the second and shows orthodox early Buddhist influence rather than the Buddhism of later ages. James Fergusson's description of the great monolith has not been bettered, "the idea Egyptian but the details Indian, an Indian nine-storied pagoda translated in Egyptian in the first century of the

Christian era." He notes its likeness to such temples as the Bodh Gayā, and says it "represents that curious marriage of Indian with Egyptian art which we should expect to find in the spot where the two peoples came in contact and enlisted architecture to symbolize their commercial union." And so obviously Hindu a ceremony as the Brahman's investiture with the sacred cord is still preserved as the sign of baptism in Abyssinian Christianity.

Now the very existence of the Abyssinian state in the beginning was dependent upon the alliance of the Romans in Egypt, who encouraged its growth in order to counteract the Arabian domination of the Red Sea trade; and this was originally a matter of first-century diplomacy, culminating with the decay of the ancient Sabæan capital Marib, and the conquest of the Nabatæan kingdom under Trajan.

While these relations between India and the West were being developed, a similar connection was formed with the East. The silk-market of the world was in a fertile valley of the Pamirs, whither Chinese merchants brought their goods by the great *Pei-lu* or "Southern way" along the desert of Turkestan. Nomadic marauders hampered the trade, so that the author of the *Periplus* remarked of China that "few men come from there and seldom"; but the armies of Pan-Chao forged the last link of the great chain, and before the end of the first century communication was unbroken from the English Channel to the Yellow Sea, and the tin of Cornwall exchanged for the silk of Ts'in.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the middle of the first century of the Christian era was a time of unexampled commercial activity between East and West, that political turmoil both in Rome and India then caused a lull in this traffic, which did not fully revive until the later years of the second century, and that Professor Garbe's argument, in so far as it affects the general interrelation between Buddhism and Christianity, is to that extent in need of revision.

A Freeman could write "our business is with Europe, and with other parts of the world only so far as they concern Europe." And the Christian Gospels have been read with Western eyes. The Holy Land out of which they came has been conceived as a sort of Ultima Thule, beyond which lay a great void; the country beyond Jordan being remembered as a wilderness, wherein One was tempted of the devil. A barrier is thus set up and maintained, artificial and

without foundation, the defence of which some would assert to be a condition of right belief.

For some reason this type of critic would deny that an influx of new commodities carried with it a renaissance of ideas, and would draw the old line about Christianity, limiting its environments to the country this side Jordan; inevitably admitting the larger expression which it received from the Gentile peoples of the northern coast of the Mediterranean, but ignoring that which came from the Gentile peoples beyond the Euphrates and the "Erythræan Sea." It is difficult to understand what is gained by so obviously tearing Christianity half out by the roots. The new faith reached out toward the East no less than toward the North and the West, and was so formulated as to be understood by all,—to be part and parcel of the intellectual environment of all. It would therefore be almost a matter of course that Christianity, making its appeal in the centers of trade, at the terminus of the great commercial highways from the East, should express its message in terms likely to be understood by those acknowledging Buddhism, the faith of the countries at the eastern terminus of those highways, and of all the world's faiths at that time, unquestionably the most influential.

Of lasting value, therefore, are all works which help to break down and destroy the ancient but artificial barriers between East and West; and of such works a very notable one is by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels Now First Compared from the Originals* (Philadelphia, 4th edition, 1908-09).

Mr. Edmunds's work goes back to the age in which the Gospels were formulated, and reconstructs the background of world-thought and politics of which they have been so generally deprived.

It is necessary to a clear understanding of the Christian religion that a painstaking study be made of its points of contact with the Buddhist, and of the many thoughts which are their common property. Such a study can detract from neither faith, but must rather serve both, by showing more fully the human ideas and aspirations out of which they arose; by showing them to be living realities in the upward path of mankind, rather than abstractions limited each to its own area. It remains for the individual to make his choice between the two, but he must no longer be hedged in by an artificial barrier, which for centuries has separated peoples closely related at the Christian era, and now by the march of events, once more brought into contact. It is no longer possible for the Teuton to hold aloof from the Tartar, the Anglo-Saxon from the Japanese;

mutual interest requires a closer understanding, a readier sympathy, and a fuller acknowledgment of common aspirations. Present-day commerce has its influence in this direction, and history likewise; but sympathetic comparison of the religions of the two races is among the most important of all such influences.

This work by Mr. Edmunds is therefore especially timely, and the ripe learning which he brings to this great subject assures its permanence.

Previous comparisons, such as those of Hardy and Seydel, had depended on translations and secondary authorities and had necessarily confused primitive writings with commentary and patristics, sometimes of late date; while Mr. Edmunds works with the advantage of an intimate knowledge of both the Pali and Greek originals. He has limited himself to parallels occurring only in the primitive writings of either religion, and his presentment is most convincing. The facts of history would naturally lead the open-minded investigator to look for a certain parallelism growing out of this ancient culture-field, but hardly to expect so formidable a list as 102 parallels of word or thought in the Canonical writings and 13 more in the books relegated to the Apocrypha, but of early date, in both religions. Furthermore, as Mr. Edmunds has shown in another place (*Buddhist Texts in John*, see also *Open Court*, May, 1911) Buddhist writings are actually twice quoted as scripture in the Christian Gospel of John. The proof of intercommunication is abundant.

Mr. Edmunds's comparisons provide a rich field of information for the student of comparative religion, and his conclusion is conservative enough to satisfy scholars of every kind. "No borrowing is alleged on either side—Christian or Buddhist. In these parallels we offer no theory but present them as facts. They at least belong to a world of thought which the whole East had in common."

Were it necessary, many other facts in the history of Syria and Palestine might be cited in support of Mr. Edmunds's argument. The Persianizing tendencies in the later Jewish church, due to the captivity in the Empire of Cyrus, are well known, while recent works by such British investigators as General Sir Thomas Holdich in upper India and Afghanistan, marshal abundant evidence of the eastern extension of the Assyrian Empire and actually of the settlement of Jewish captives in considerable numbers at the very gates of India. Here then was a central administration dominant from the Nile to the Indus seven centuries earlier than the period when

Mr. Edmunds seeks to prove active intercommunication. Six centuries before the same period, one of the last of the Pharaohs opened a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea to bring his country into communication with the Eastern trade in defiance of her Mesopotamian oppressors. Six centuries after the Christian era Buddhist and Christian legends were so mingled in Western Asia, that the Koran absolutely confused the two; while a little later in Eastern Asia a Chinese emperor issued an edict forbidding the same confusion then prevalent in his dominions.

It should hardly be necessary to recall that Palestine was the West-land of the Mesopotamian civilization just as India was the East-land; and that it was at the western rim of that ancient culture-field, and not from the Greek or Roman environment, that the Christian Gospels arose, just as it was at the eastern rim that the Buddhist writings were formulated. Without in any way assuming identity of origin or purpose, it would be strange indeed if there were not identity of expression and parallelism of thought between these two great Canons; and Mr. Edmunds's proof of that identity is a distinct contribution to human knowledge.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

PHILADELPHIA, November, 1911.

MR. BERTRAND RUSSELL'S FIRST WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MATHEMATICS.

In *The Monist* for January, 1910,¹ Dr. Carus has criticized an article of Mr. Bertrand Russell's on "Recent Work on the Principles of Mathematics," published in the *International Monthly* for 1901. A copy of the article lately came into my hands, corrected in Mr. Russell's handwriting back again to what he originally wrote.² The editor or type-setter occasionally changed Mr. Russell's words to words which he considered more dignified, perhaps. Thus, the *International Monthly* makes Mr. Russell say³ that in pure mathematics we "take any hypothesis that seems assuring, and deduce its consequences." Mr. Russell had written "amusing," and the substitution of "assuring" rather took away from the force of Mr. Russell's contention that in mathematics we are not in the least con-

¹ Vol. XX, pp. 46-63.

² Mr. Russell has since kindly told me that this statement is correct.

³ Quoted in *The Monist*, Vol. XX, p. 50.